776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, ungents were cooked, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[69] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[70] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Then, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[71]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmolco.[72]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man
● 431] [and] a woman, whom these with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Izcuauhqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon
[304 them, while their uncles and aunts[73] looked on. Afterwards
852] all feasted.

776 [Izcuauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with gron stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[74] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhuiquiztililoia, cenxihtica: ipan ilamjan yxcalli: quixipotonia in motecuçoma, ipan tlacreoanaloia, cepalwmjlilo,

ocuhquiltamalli nechivililloia, in cecmecalpan: achto ipan quimamjlitia in tlol, çanpan qualoia.

Auh yn jnewiooan, inh ceuiltzitl, in quicujcuia, quimocicpichilia, quiçepanacilhuja, cuicuchilhuja:

auh aiac vel cimaçoia in comalco, nelacanalilloia, ynjc amo aca mocuia, mochichinac: ipampa in iancujcan oqualoc ocuhquiltamalli, ynjc oclamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotoni, nochintin quiçitlanquixia: yn aca omol: cujtlatl, nenjli, axolotl, tzotzl: in çaço tlein ocacic inioli, ycuxtic cuetlaçia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlanquja yn ixco.

Auh yn ciouac, noujan tlatlacoaia in veuetque, ylamatque: inh quitoaia, quitlanamjlitia yn tlol, tocalcouja.

Auh nauhnohuica, yn oc ceuca, mexicatlilloia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujotiuia yn motecuçoma, ixpan yn jmucal, xiuhtecutl, ytocaiocan tzonmolco.

Auh in jquac ly, vel nochiuilacatl, yel no inquich tlacatl, quiçaloaia, quiltequja, in vetli, in pipiltotoni: ic motocaiotiuia, pilloanme:

yoan vncá quiçitlatiuia, quimamalujtiuia in pipiltotoni. Ce cioatl, ce oquichtli, in quiçentiuia pilloaque, quintlauhtiuia; ixhuintin quimomatihuja, vnpa quimocuaia, yn ixcuauhqui: vnpa quimacaxtapoalaia, quimaxaxamjnjia: inhuja ic quimotlachiotiuia, ynjc quimitta, yntlaoan, ynnenjoan: çanpan tlaqualo.

In jnochichioal cuexc: tlilixca motenuiltec, chalchiuhcuaia, xiuhcozcamacalc, quetzalmjlacuia, mjtzoac, tlacuztzcuia, xiuhcozcanocolca, amaccemacopanala, no tzitzilc, cocujolc, xiuhcozcatlatlapanqui yn jchimal, tlachialtopilo.

---

68. "Uno de los hierbas que se comen cocidas es llamas huauhquilitl, que son blandas, se usan verdes, tienen los cauos delgadillos y chillan, tienen las hojas anchuelas. Las tallos de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cerrajas, exprimese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hazense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilhuas." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 231. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

69. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents burned and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

70. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 208; see translation in Simeon: *op. cit.*

71. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

72. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (godfather; patron or protector). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tlatli* and *cuitl* as urine and waste.

73. *Chichihuatzolli*—a soup for the head, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*tzitzilcuitl*); *quetzalmantli* or *xiuhcozcatzolli* (*quetzalxiuhcoyo*)—a class of feather mosaic work in the form of a crescent cape, broadening upwards; *mitznatli* (*tlacochcuatli* or

776
463
484
[418]
[439]

"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cocoa, and steppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were for disease, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[101] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[102][For if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moteuczoma.

This one then gave him a gift, and dashed him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had entrance in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[103] They paid great honor to the cocoa, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[104] they set it upright. They offered it an offering fire, when they held a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they commonly looked and drew a man as a sacrifice,[105] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomepinauhtl, or Chalchiuhtlicue, Acxotecatl, and Nacxitl, Cochinotl, Yaotzinteuctli.[106] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcapotzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now show up [like

Auh in tecuanti, in pochtecatl, in ximoxti, in aquenjtl, ye ximocuiani:

[263
266]

inhuel inxitilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, otlan cenemj, vel calaquj, motlacacaoapa in xochichialtinica, in xexeltica, in tlaxilica qujxtlatlacalhuja in chanaque.

Auh inda celaneçmalticque, inda cimoçe: vncan qujquiemjctia, qujxchillatilia: çe ica, ago ce, ago vme ye: ac ell vmatilanpa quja, inhuel qujxhomotzaia in nanacoçme:

[431
301
304]

ic vncan qujmaca, cequjlia, yapoçmalteuhtli, yc qujmaviztilia, ic qujxocmotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oquichtia.

Auh ye jquac calaqui, yachan: va jxnloch, ynacoçpa oquichichaque, ye otlalnechacico, ye otlalnechpachihuque: inquich tlacatl qujxoxta, in pochteca: yuan in tlatoque, ic nemjtitinia:

776
796
[778]

mjec, nacajpaca, cenca qujmaviztilia ye inpil, ye jtlaqua yiacatecutli:

cenca in calpulco qujquemia: achto qujtlamanjlia, ye jquac tetlaqualia: yuan intloca nel motecoçmoxca, qujxlamanjlia in qui machiya ye jtlaqua.

Auh inda aca tealtia, inhuel caltitia, qujmaca in jxnuh yiacatecutli: anoço cenca inhuanca ye nochcuia, in qujxcuetzinia in chicomqujauhtl, anoço chalchiuhcacatzel, yuan acxotecatzyl, yuan nacxitl, cochinotl, incapixcauac, ziac qujxoxta, yiollotlama, ye ago ce, anoço vme, ca altic tlacatl:

776
796
567

vnqui cenca ye tlacanecujlica axcapotzalco: motlahtlalilia, motlapapatilia, qujxcocuiqui, qujmjxitza, ye qualtin qujxcuiaque, ye acan quenamjqui, in tlacaxicti, in tlacamelaque, ye acan cucuepa, ye atle initacuiuh ca:

yajc inhuan qujmictiaque, ye ipan panquetzaliztli: ye vncan illujqujzilitia vitzilohuchtli:

yquac qujxchichinia, qujxtlacuaaca, inmch qujxtlalia ye jubqui yeochiohtinol yiacatecutli.

Auh ye ainmo qujmjctia, achtopa qujxnextiania: mjec qujxnjcnotia, ic qujxnechtia in tenhinque:

---

101. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 97): Yiacatlehqui "paupérrimos representa pareces, que tiene ropa, ó habitalad, para mejor quotidianamente, á engañar, y ir sobre, y matar (que es propio condition de Mercaderes) . . . ."

102. Cf. Ixlilxochitl (Kingsborough, p. 332) citing Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex. 3. 2. ff 308.

103. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the customs of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies, mentions washing swords and hands.

104. Sahagún defines calpulli as "iglesia del barrio, ó parroquia" (Spanish version).

105. Sahagún defines the sacrificer in this sentence: "Entre dueños que matahan a unos esclavos."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 223.

106. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (Collected Works, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91) completes Cochinotl and Yaotzinteuctl as synonyms for Tlacauepan; "Chicomquiauitl or Chalchiuhtlicue is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxotecatl is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para tezer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornices y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan cõuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and cónsuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta moulble.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta moulble

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta moulble comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amjgos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La setzẽ decima fiesta moulble.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[6]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oquichcoatiuh, moquichitociuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmotzacpilitiuh, ámo tlacuecuetlazotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlatenioti-tiuh, quiiauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo quimatiuh, quioalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, unnech-onjezque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn ozticiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic cocoviaca quimoncca in techcac, ie inmac in tlamacazque, quinchiquacencauaia, quim-aquetzitica, quimelitetequj, yca ixquacoc, patlaoc tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti quitocaiotia, quauhnoch-tli tlaçodi: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl quitlamaca, quinzaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxi-calco contlalitiuj: auh in ichoantin mjquja mamalti, quintocaiotiaia Cosuhteca:

çatepan quinoalmjmjloa, quinoaltecuchoa, cha-chalcatiujtze, maiotzincuepiuitze, motzotzoniquetz-tiujtze, mocuecuepiuitze, ynic oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, quimonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacuilti, calpul-[346] vevetque: vmpa quinujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjco, omonotolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic quiujca ichan, ynic quiquazque: [796 X] vmpa quizcalcoa, quitetequj, quiucuelloa: oc ie achto quitonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in [266] quiujquilia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa quiquapotonja, yoan quj-[237 431]

---

6. In *op. cit.*, p. 42, Sahagún qualifies a "*Ydolo Arabeo Pizarronissimo*." Robles (*op. cit.*) defines *pizarron* as "Cuchillo para los sacrificios Aztecas, hecho de silex en de Pedernal. . . ." Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in Colección de documentos para la historia de México (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Méxicoo: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 40, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Hernández describes it as "un cuchillo ancho hecho de lasca, en manera agudo porque . . . no se pueda hacer muy aguda. . . ."

7. *Quauhxicalli*, probably *quauhkuxalli* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhkuxal*, Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 142) considers as meaning the sun.

8. Sahagún unfortunately confuses the term *quauhkuxalli* as *Alberradas* (*cf. Henige Kingdom*, p. 99). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 195, he founds the word down into *quauhxal* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauh* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less unanimously than Sahagún, uses the term *olmo de madera*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 18 r., Sahagún writes: "*Despues mandan los sacrificar, los llamauan quauhteca*." In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún translates *quauhteca* as "the one from the eagle-land," the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, or the sun's image and representative (p. 197).

10. *Apetlac* (cf. Robles, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Other have cited Sahagún, Lib. III, cap. 36, and Lib. II, cap. 29 and 32.

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cuecateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[20]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas of* uncooked maize were eaten.[21] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlacochcalca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. Those the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

quitoa, ca iuhquj nepiltzin: Auh in nalli, quitoa ca notaztzin: auh tel tepal quiquzaia intemal.

796[X] [266]

Auh yn ieouio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlaccalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaqujlo cemjlhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexquich maca, in quexquich quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexiccelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quiclaiecultia yn ieouh.

[431]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, quiiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn inquichtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl inlan ca ana, yn intzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia.

796[X] 535

Auh in cuitlachoeue, contlinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhquin mjccaoati, quinchoquilia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque.

796[X]

Auh no ichoanti, yn iiaoan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynin ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, quimonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcoaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cuecateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitloia, tlamauiçoltiloia: njman ic xitinoua, necacaoalo.

796[X] 648

Auh yn iquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjtzac ietiuh, vmpa quiquaquatoque.

[262]

Auh yn inuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'quiztilo, cenca oc hueca ieoan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: quipeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualiapan quioalcaoaia: njman quimonpatla tlamacanque, ynic muchichioaia, ynic mjtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapa tlaquiztl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tulcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichicalli, xone-

796[X] 301

20. Durán (op. cit., pp. 375-80) says that Moctezuma I invited "los señores de todo lo redondo"—Tezcuco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Mizquic, and Itzapalapan, and as many more as possible. "Los señores de las provincias y ciudades," he continues, "obedecían y acudían de ordinario a estas fiestas, pensando que eran gratificados y pudiéndose hacer de temer y esperar . . . . Desde entonces acá los de las provincias y ciudades comarcanas dejaron de tener confianza de comunicar con los mexicanos, viendo que habían entrado entonces y sabido traidoramente de sus entrañas."

21. Sahagún: "tortillas, como empanadillas, que hacían de maíz sin cocer," according to Schuller's Spanish text. So Seler (op. cit., p. 74, n. 1) who is followed in the equivalent of *empanadillas*—"der 'Brot in Gestalt einer Brotkruste' . . . . Es war ein Gebäck in Mondform, das man eingebacken, bestimmte verschiedene Mahlzeiten, also zum Mahlzeit, nicht zum Mahlmann, hergestellt wurde."

X 796 [278] Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aqujn cenecquja, conmonectiaia, ontlaelcujnia in mihiviacia telpopochti.

[755] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequjntin ic monectoltia, yn ontlatiznque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço ixcocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

[301 289] Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

cecenca iechan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oalcoa conmaqujtiuj in oozt, amaxtenujtl, ymacolpan mamâtiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

[515] And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aimamjquiztli: çan neiacapachole ynjc namjco, ynic tetla quiça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn oozt, ocotoczauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica quinapaloa, yn ouelitpioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappi-zoac.

● [431 531 291] And the captors came in lead of the *tzonsecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided, or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, quinjacan-tiuj in tzonsecti, intlatlema, intlatlema ietiuh: quimoolpalitiuj yn inoetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminqui, anoço teniujoaanqui, yhujtenoaanqui, yhujtentlaiacalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn ecatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa cecciaca ontlaiiaoeia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn enacticac ecatl, njman mocetoma, mocentonicac: yn oqujoalcopin ecatl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oalteno tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiquiça, qujoaltentiquiça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 515 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oquicaoto ecatl, yn onmaqujtiuja, ueo mixamja atica, çan ioezatli, tlaoltezatli, inic onmixtazaqualoca, ynic onmjxmaoatiloa, mixioezuja:

---

6. See Chapter 20, n. 9.

7. In *Grammatik der Azteken-Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 325, Seler translates *tzonsecti* as "*Spreizfederhaar* or *in strenge parlerten Zöpfe*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*Spreizfederhaare* (*aus der Bunten Farbe der Knäuel der Bunten schuhe*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado quasi*.

Per *tzonsecti*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*Spreizfederhaare* (*aus der Farbe der Nackenfell, der Kolpen-Schäfften*)."

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and *Illus.*, p. 581.

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

Auh in oniccac ihy ontlic, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

● [43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *mapuey* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[778] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, five *tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac,* "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[dess].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

otetzaoac, yn omotlali, hi tzotzoliuhtimanj, ieiolcatimanj.

Auh yn ontlitloje, in tetlapoctli in tlamacazque; noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, quiconocujtiuj in calli, no ichoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlacujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlaueliia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihixnamiquj:

in telpopochti, telpochcali quitquj, vmpa quipaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac quitquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanaaque, yn izquican manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujoalitquj, yn inchachan:

quimxonochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco quitquetza: vncan quintlaquentia, quintlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan quimanaia macujltetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujiotlaoztzalli, tepiioacquj, quappitztic, tlaixtexoujlli. quitzincuetia: yoan cen chiquijuitl pinolli, yoan eelo itzujtl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli quitequj acatl vncan quitemjtia, quitentiquetza, yn izquitlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepixcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa quicuj, quimámaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, motecneoa calonooac, cali onooac: ichica ca çan cali çan techachan in mauixtililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teutlac, vmpa quimoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa quinamoc, ic nexujtilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa comitquija, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, quinnemaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca atzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonquetne, yn aca

6. *Cobar de matlia* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates the term as *mata de maiz;* Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*parvum o tenue de maiçes antes de que espiguen.*"

7. "*Otras yeruas, que llamauan, mapuel,*" in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 338), referring to the *mapuey,* says: "*Las raices gruesas tuuieron, segun dize el padre,*"

8. Ground, roasted maize mixed with chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 87).

[796] space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

[535] And when it all ceased, already it was late at night,

[512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[531] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen,

[373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[43] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

[796] And the young warriors, the young warriors who

836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of

684 honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair-dress; they took from him all his belongings—his

[831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlaujc, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhioca, ie nettetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlazilia axcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie izquich, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet ve-uetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn izquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenquixtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca mouiujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlauelliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequintin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioateiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan inhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oaliooalquiça, çan moioealpoloa, oc ueca ioan in quiça:

auh intla aca itiuc, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in izquich ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlètlecaleoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

Then they climbed up the ropes. On one rope mayhap twenty climbed, like a cluster hanging upon it. Not all reached the point; only some reached the top. The one who led grasped the *xocotl* image, which was made only of a dough of amaranth seeds. He took all—its shield, arrow, dart, and dart-thrower.

And the amaranth seed dough [*tamales*] he scattered down so that they fell to the ground upon those [who watched]. All who stood below looked up. When the amaranth seed dough fell, all stretched forth their hands and shouted as if there were a fight. Some took its head ornaments of amaranth seed dough, which he also scattered upon them. They were carried off by those below.

And when this was done, then he who had captured the *xocotl* [image] came down. When he descended and reached the ground, then they seized him; the old men [of the temple] took him up to the place of sacrifice and offered him gifts. And all thereupon pulled upon the ropes, exerting themselves greatly, verily destroying the work. And the *xocotl* then fell to the ground, raising a cloud of dust, breaking into pieces. Into three or four sections it quickly broke apart.

Upon this, all then went; all was quiet and left clear. And then they accompanied the captor of the *xocotl* to his house, and arrayed him in a brown striped cloak edged with a feathered border.

And if one were a captor [of the *xocotl*], he might well thus array himself, wrapping about him [such a cloak]; none might therefore dispute him [the right]. But if one were not [such a] captor, he might only keep one in his care. And mayhap he might sell it when he was poor or sick.

And thus they accompanied him to his home; two old priests went carrying him, taking him by the arms. Behind came the priests, blowing horns for him as they went, sounding shell trumpets for him. And he bore upon his back his shield. And when they left him, then they returned [to the temple].

Thus in truth ended here, [thus] concluded, the feast day.

[796]

njman ie ic tlecoa in mecatitech: in ce mecatl, aço cen tecpantli in jtech tleco, iuhqujn tlapipilcac: aço mochintin in vmpanvetzi, çan quezquintin in vmpanvetzi, in aqujn iacatiuh, vel ichoatl caci in xocotl ixiptla, çan tzoalli: muchi qujcujlia in jchimal, in jmjuh tlacoçomalli, yoan yiatlauh.

[43]

Auh in tzoalli, vmpa qujoaltetepeoa, tepan qujoalcecẽmana, muchi tlacatl, onacopatlachia in tlatzintlan manj, in jquac oalhuetzi tzoalli muchi tlacatl maçoa, iuhqujn ipan nemjmjctilo, iuhquj tlatlacaoaca: no cequintin conaci, in jtzõcoiol in tzoalli, no tepã qujoalcecẽmana, namoiclo in tlatzintlan.

Auh in ie iuhquj njmã: njman ie ic oaltemo, in xocomanj: in oaltemoc, in otlaltitechacico: njmã ie ic conana: in tlacacouhcan, vmpa qujtlecavia in vevetiuc, vmpa qujtlauhtia: auh in jxqujch, tlacatl, nimã ie ic qujtilinja in mecatl, vel netilinjlo, vel ontlamj in tlapaliviztli: auh in xocotl, njmã ic vetzi tlalpã, tlalipotoztivetzi, popoztectivetzi, aço excan, anõço nauhcan qujztivetzi.

[431]

In ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic viviloa, cactivetzi, cactimomana: auh çatepã, concaoa in jchan in xocomanj, ic caapana camopalli in tilmatli, tenjvivavanquj.

[297]

Auh intla tlamanj, vel qujmoquentiz, vel qujmolpilitinemjz, aiac ic qujtlaznoviliz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujmochatiliz, çan ipiel iez: auh anoço qujmonamaqujliz, in jquac ie motolinja in jcocoian.

Auh injc cõcaoa ichan: caantivi, qujznitzinzqujtivi yiacolpã; in quaquacujlti: vmentin, icãpa mantivi tlamaczaque, qujtlapichilitivi: ichoatl in tecciztli qujpichilitivi: yoã qujnamatiuh in jchimal. Auh in ocõcaoato, mec oalmocuepa:

[534]

ic vel oncan ontzonqujça, õdamj in jlhujtl.

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vctli mja itoca matlalvctli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoā in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoā in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vctli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vctli: iece çan quichtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo itoxque.

Auh intla aca qujnnecxxotlaz, intla machilileque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnviviteqüj, ocequxuhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoā qujnquatezoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlāititech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelāuitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 637

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmā in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic maviztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iiepā ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipā icac: yoan in vctli ipan icac, yn vctlali: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276] [252]

Auh injc eilhujtl motenteoa chonchaiocacalioa, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxipilaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatapallic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oquicencauhque chōchaiotl, mec mouelloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujuteqüj, acxoiamaiti, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

19. See Pl. 31.

hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

Thus [was it done].

Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers sought out some master of the youths, seasoned warrior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle. Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

And when they had gone to their homes, thereupon all ate and drank.

And then, in the temple, began singing and dancing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal quitzitzquja amaxiquipilli; njmã ie ic oaltemo mjtotitivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ie ic tlaiaoaloa, çã nappa in tlaiaoaloa: auh in ommjtotique mec nexixitinjlo, texixitinjlo, njmã ie ic calacoa in tecpan tlatecpanolo. Auh in iehoatl y, motenteoa: netecujtotilo, motecujtotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in muchioaia;

ie iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in peoaloia in tenacazxxapotlaloia in quinnacazxxapotla pipiltotonti: yoan quinpotonja, tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in tortli.

Auh in ventli in quichioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temooaia, iehoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlanenequja impilhoaque injc Tetlatizque: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitiz, qujtlauhtiaia:

in oqujchtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qujtlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazxxapotlaloc; njmã ie ic qujnvivica, in qujnchichinozque pipiltotõti: qujtlalia tletl, tletlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc moteneoa techichinolo in calpulhuevetque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco qujmonjauhtimanj: njman ic qujnoalmacatimanj in tetlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlatzatzatzi, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic iatimanj in inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ie ic tlatlaqualo, haztlica.

Auh in opeoaloc teupan in ie cujco in ie netotilo, nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa vilos in teupan: in Tetlaoan, in teavioan qujnvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlatequj ietiuh in vctli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica in qujitquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vncã cujco: njmã ie ic ommomana in mitotia, qujnmamana in pipiltotonti: vncã qujmomacatimanj, qujmomacatinemj in vctli: netech qujmomamaca.

11. *The Real Palacio MS here contains the key word yn ehuampinolli, which probably identifies the pinolli as ground dried maize and chia seeds.*

X 796 [548] when he had been living in the likeness of another, had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

oaquetztinẽca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinẽca omovelitztinenca.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said, [827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaana, qujmacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujmizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtizcque, manazque, mooapaoazque:

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants; [824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

yoā in metl qujiollotzaloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollolapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moxaltiz, moxapaoaz.

X 796 852 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; [301] in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecuytotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan cantlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaziuhiā vetzia in tlatoque.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited. [608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltzontli, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemoliaia, in qujnvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmavitia, tetlati, teaviti:

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they [431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toqujchtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests' [304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And [302 237] they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

icalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnacaxxapotla, qujnnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conqujxtia, vncā qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzatzintleoz, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoqujztleoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

And the women who became aunts were pasted [608 302] with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoā inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamaxochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, iitecuzochiuh.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

In jquac oqujmõnacaxxapotlaque, njmā ic qujnoalhujuica in inchachan, vncan qujchieltitoque ixtoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlaviltitoque, qujchixtoque in

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Cioatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin: Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoā oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca cioatontli, no ichoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquiça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixqujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapā teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecococololoc, njmā ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

In xochicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no ichoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jiecaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaquiticac in jiecaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Iopicalco, yoan coacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan coacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçoconcatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixqujch tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
[796
643]

[366
262]
415]

[643
701]
431]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquipiaia in jxquich qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxquich qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in osuhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiooachpetlatl, quauhaiooachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan quimjlpiaia, quincaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncā mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncā cenquijçaia: in jxquich calpixquj, ioan tequitquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxquich in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxquich in jpiel: njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnquixtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxquich in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoā tlatoanj.

Coscalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords friendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coscalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxquichtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxquichtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxquich tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhteintetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Coliseum, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcalli, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca monta; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[15] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were bested, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vassals whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

In tlatoanj, in jquac qujnequja iiellelquiçaz tlanaoatiaia injc patoz, mjcujloa ce patolpetlatl, ica tlilli, papatlactic in tlaxotlalli ic mjcujloa, in vncan nepoalo ic netlanjoa: auh njman no mjxcoionja nauhtetl aiecotli, injc patolo injc netlanjoa: auh çan ie no iuhquj qujchioaia in calpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli in jtlatquj, in jaxca tlatoanj, qujoalteca in oncan patoloian, in qujtetlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in icoac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepatla in calpixque: ioan qujpatla in jxqujchtin maçeoalti, in ocontlalica tlatoanj in patoloia. 643 522 525 524

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then [the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in aqujn tlatoanj qualli iiollo, teicnoittanj. 643 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaoculianj, cenca teicnoittanj, ioan teicnelianj, in jcoac qujnequja, qujçaz in otli qujtocaz: in aqujn motolinja maçeoalli, in motlapaloa, injc qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, intla ouelqujtlapalo in tlatoanj: njman qujnaoatia in calpixquj, qujmacaz tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in qujz, in qujquaz, tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloz qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, çan no iuh qujcnelia, qujtlauhtia in jujpil, in jcue, icochia, in qujz, in qujquaz tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla aca motolinja, icnotlacatl, oqujchiuh, oqujtlali, quezquj veuetl mauizio cuicatl, intla njman itech qujpoa tlatoanj, intla qujmaca, cenca qujcnelia, qujtlaocolia, qujcalmaca qujcujltonoa, qujmaca in quexqujch tlatqujtl in jitic onoc calli, ioan qujmaca calpixquj injc momoztlae qujmocujtlaujz qujtlaqualtiz, qujtenjxitiz, qujneuhcaiotiz qujcochcaiotiz: ioan qujmaca in ixqujch netlauhtilli in tlaçotilmatli, in pepechtli in necujltonolli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauizioti.

15. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de allí traían su luego, con que jugaban, y ponían luego; y otras cosas como arriba se dice."

[p. 60 is blank]

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxquichtin tlatoque, ilhujcaxtentli qujxtoque, ioan in jxquichtin tlatoque in altepetl ipan, quijxaolotoque mexico, tetzcuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj. 643 527 648

Auh in jcoac ocenquixque in jxquichtin tlacoanotzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiauhoan: njman ic quintlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in tlaqualli, tlaçotlaoquj, qujntlauhtia in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaçotlanquj chimalli, netotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceioal cemjlhujtl, in tepaquilxia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no quintlauhtia, in jxquichtin pipiltin, tiacauh, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan telpuchtlatoque, ioan ixquichtin cujcanjme, ioan ixquichtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque: [431]

auh in otzonquiz tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic ompeoa in jxquichtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, altepetl ipan. 643 292

Auh çan njman iquezquihuioc, iaotlatoa in tlatoanj, injc cana iauquizoaloiiuh, qujntlauhtia in tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in jxquichtin tiacahoan, oquichti: auh iioma in tlatoanj in iauh iauc, in oniaoquiça, in ontepeoa qujuica in jxquichti iauquizque, ioan in noujian tlaroque altepetl ipan inic oiaoquiça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac ôtepeoato, oiaoquizato cenca paqui, in quexquich malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujquixtiaia. Auh in ixquichtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmaujztiotia, mjiec tlamâtli injc quinjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotilmatli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj, ioan qujntocamaca injc mauiztililoque, injc tlacamachoque, injc oquichti, tiacahoã. 726 724

8. In ibid., Uexotzinco Ahuitzotl is followed by many subsequent rulers, and rulers of the Mixtec country.

[p. 66 is blank]

65

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

565
868
701

Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiauhque, oanqujhiouique in oçeloquichtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaquitique moteçuma quintlatlatia quinpopoloa.

727

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlā, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezquitzontli omochiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj ichoantin in tetequjoaque, in quioalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in quioalitquj tlatolli, in quezquitzontli omochiuh malli:

[431]

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequintin motequioacaxima anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnquixtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequipan titlanti qujmōtehoan motlatlauhtia.

721
729
727

Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in quipachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chimalpanecatl*: Sahagún's comment on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "*y los de la tierra seca, que son los carrizos de las chinampas.*"

729
[643]
431
301

He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[5] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two trupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships: possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

in quinmaca coztic teçacatl, anoço coztic tencololli, anoço xoxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xoxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtentetl, anoço tlanjtentetl: njman ic quetzallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiocio, anoço çaquan tlalpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, ichoatl in tlatocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticatetecomaio, anoço itzmjxicalcoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzicoliuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quexqujch tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquacalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixtelolo, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotóieoatl, anoçe tozcoatl in ie uel ixqujch tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan qujnmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in qujnmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

643 And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Tlillancalqui tecutli.[7]

Auh intla mjqujz tlatoanj: ichoantin ceme analoia, injc ichoantin qujpachozque altepetl. Auh çan no ichoantin, cequjntin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in qujtzõtecticate mjqujztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociaoacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

5. *Tlenjcuecuel*: Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *daaiuiecuecuel*.

6. *Alter yoan daçomaxtlatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quauuecuexxtlatl—Eehkhopichcahuindor*, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they [292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained [302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red 336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

● [431 And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
242] he gave him an orange cape with a striped border and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin iconac teca momotla inic tepallama.

Auh intla tepal otlama iconac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquniaoalzima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

Auh im aço ie imacxoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inoncuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imaxtlaton,

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocān. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaqtia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiscaboan motecuçoma.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh iconc compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quinezcaoaloia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yuan ompa quinpanoia*—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*una manta con cenefa labrada de color morado: y otra manta labrada, de quatro cuentas labrada de colorado que se llamauan colotlapalli: y . . . un mantle labrado de colorado, largo que estuuiesse hasta colgado, y otro mantle labrado de todas colores.*"

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Cinatecpancatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxtecs, or barbarians,[2] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[3] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[5] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[6] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic naui caci ieh icoac quitequioacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compeoaltia in tequioacatocaitl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnaoacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in isquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac contlalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquiztoque in ueuei tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociaoacatl, tocuiltecatl, atenpanecatl, ieboantin quauhiaca i, têçacaoaque cuitlasnacochique quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. [293] 701

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlisco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veitiacauh in itoca quauhtiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui têçacatl [431] ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan [293] cuetlasnacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no [301] icoac maco in tilmatli chicoapalnacazminqui, ioan cuetlastilmatli.

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlisco anoco vexotzinco ie ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in coztic têçacatl [293] iiomesti quititlani in xoxouhqui têçacatl. 301

fin

3. *Tenió*: "*Tenso sobre sí llevando* [Olmeca, Uexteca, Mixteca] *cosa hacia el nacimiento del sol, y llevandos también vestidos, porque hablan lengua bárbara*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *tlalpiloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quauhtlalpiloni*—hand band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be read *anoço*.

6. *Quititlani*: a marginal gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS suggests that the term is translated *auer*. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text, and, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, *idini*, *itlania*, *itlanilia*.

7. Following *xoxouhqui*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *in centic*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.
A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

77

[p. 78 has NO text material]

-77-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[3] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monextitiuitze mochintī quihcuistiuitze in inquatzō ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im macevalti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh iqla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzō y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz macevaltin nimā ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cēca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

auh ỹ yeuatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpiaqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in q̄pieztque. 727

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.
This passage originally, in the *Real Academia MS*, completed the section ending *tēlauā quiyōtehuaz motlatlauhtia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-que* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *tetzcuicuilli*, and *cruelmente respalla*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*iye uel y mahmaxa inicnemaxaxaco*—is "*in richtiger Weise die Zahl der Fischundvier.*"

4. *Anca*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba, Méx.: [Imprenta Mayé], 1940), p. 189; also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototeca* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototeca*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototeca*; they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototeca* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui onmicouac. nimā ye ic mihtotia in tlauahuanqz in oticmictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. in ipan mihtotia ceçentetl in tzontecomatl intlan caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuātin ypilhuā in omicqz. 796 727 793

auh i yeuatl malli nimā ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui][5] in ieuayo. in isquichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in imeuayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco. inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youā im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani in quemmā ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh in tiacaua nimā ye ic no motecpana q'misnamictimomana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in motztimani. auh nimā ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa ōuetzi in tototecti q'moncotonilia in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mocotoniliqz nimā ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa q'mōmana in innemanaya in itocayocā totectzontecontitlā. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl q'mōcaua. 796

Auh i ye iuhq' nimā ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techā. uel nouian calaq̄ auh im macualli ye iuhca ỹyollo quinchie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallascalli. ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepancalaq' in ontlaçotlalo. 796 431 262

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlacuā. in queheua cōmaca im male. q'zelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl. aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc. momoztlae yui.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as short ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wheresoever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya coztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. motecuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli onmãtiuh ĩ mastlatl. 701 293 [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im motecuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quaquauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [574]

Auh no yquac quimahceua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya motecuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tlilpapatlauac chichicuee çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopaltẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacozcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaoteḋuaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. motecuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichixticate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in 701 721

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

701 721 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor, as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

726 687 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

701 ●431 643 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] remembered him, sought him out, and drew him from his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts: he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full or maize grains; and he provided him with *chia*—he weighed out two large measures of *chia*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

701 726 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior], he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauã. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopouhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye istlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in ôpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã i yaoteca.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no omettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i moteoçcoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço içcotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahcualmacaya.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço ôxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in ôya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço.ontetl y uey tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quĩ ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

Therefore they offered them all the various things which they bore with them; costly capes such as those which here are named: [the mantle] with the sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tioallaque.

Qujnoalnanqujlique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujmonjlhujque. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmā ie ic quinmaca in jxquitlamantli quitquique tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, iehoatl in, in njcā moteneoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tezcapocio:

in jxquitlamātli in in qujmōmacaque, qujnoalcuepcaiotilique, qujnoalmacaque cozcatl, xoxoctic, coztic: iuhqujnma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oquittaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan qujnoalnaoatiqua: qujnoalilhujque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazq̄ tacitivi in mexico:

njmā ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca quiçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, ceceioal in oalnenenque, injc qujnonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jveliaca qujlhujco, quicaqujtico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oquicujto.

Auh njman ie ic qujnonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca izcatquj otiquittaque, izcatquj oticchiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl ixco. Ca otiquimjttato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jxquich motilmatzin otiquinmacato: auh izcatquj techmacaque intlatquitzi. Qujtoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, izcatquj anquimacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatiz:

---

6. Spanish text: *los capitanes dieron a los indios cuentas de vidrio, unas verdes y otras amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "*en un dia, y en una noche.*"

8. Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 458, has *fuel luego*, translated "first of all."

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Injc nauj capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlaonaoati Motecuçoma, in oqujma in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, iehoatl in don hernando Cortes. 000

Qujmjlhuj tla xioalhujan mocceloqujchtle, tla xioalhujan qujl-iequene oqujçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjqujti, vel xitlacaquican, vel xinacaçocan, tlein quitoz, vel nacaztli in anqujoalcujzque: inzatquj ic itech amacizque in totecujo,

iehoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: coaxaiacatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapañecaiotl, chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlacomalli, yoan centetl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epoepanjuhquj, quetzaltençouhquj, yoã quetzalpanio; yoan terzacujtlapilli quetzallo: auh inin terzacujtlapilli, iuhqujn xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçalolli, yoan chalchiuhcuecuextli, teucujtlacoiollotoc: njman ic iehoatl xioatlatl, çan motqujtica xivitl, iuhquja contonteconetica, coatzontecconc, yoan itzacatli.

776
301
431
[416]

1. *Tlamauiti*: *tlamauiti* is probably meant.

2. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 461, n. 1, says: "*In Wahrheit ist dies die Tracht Xiuhtecutlis.*"

3. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), II, p. 913, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: "*una mascara labrada de mosayco de turquesas tenja esta mascara labrada de las mejjllas pinjdas esta calabra dublada y retorcida cuya dublez era al pico de la nariz y la retorcida yua hasta la frente era como lunas de la nariz hasta su dinjdio la cola de la culebra y la culebra con parte del cuerpo yua por sobre el un ojo de manera que hazia ojo y la cola con parte del cuerpo yua por sobre el otro ojo y hazia otro ojo.*"

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenia esta mascara entretida en una corona alta y grãde llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de manera que pareçiendo la corona sobre la cabeça se ponja la mascara en la cara.*"

5. Cf. *Codex Vaticanus*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Tenia por joyel una medalla de oro redonda y ancha estaua asida con vnos cordeles de piedras preciosas que ceñidas al cuello caheian los hombros y todo el pecho.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenia tambien vna rodela grande labrada de piedras preciosas con vnas cenefas de oro que llegauan de arriba abaxo por toda ella: y cierto cordon de perlas atrauesadas sobre las de oro de arriba abaxo por toda ella y los espacios que auia entre vnas cenefas y otras eran como rodillas de red yuan puestos vnos capitos de oro tenja esta rodela vnos rapacejos en la haxa yua asida en la rodela vna cenefa que salia fuera la manjga de la rodela hecha de plumas ricas.*"

7. *Ibid.*: "*vna medalla grande hecha de obra de mosayco que la llamaua asida y ceñida sobre los hombros.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*vn cetro como cetro de obispo todo labrado de obra de mosayco de turquesas y la haxa de arriba era vna cabeça de vna culebra rabuelta a encontrada.*"

431 776 292 301 The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Tezcatlipoca — the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] [416] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlatoca cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan cozcatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centeti tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan ꝑantiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

[237] Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green [416] stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalaztatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanscoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tzitzile; tenchilnaoacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

[237] Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[17] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, cozoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcololli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia: yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

---

9. *Ibid.*: "una cabellera hecha de plumas ricas que colgaua por la parte detras hasta cerca de la cintura entre arrobrada toda de estrellas de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de oro que llamaua colgadas unas caracolillas de oro y cuentas de caracolillas marinas blancas y hermosas dezian tambien colgaua en cuero que era como pata y llamauale conejo (sic) de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaua esto pata muchas caracolitas arrobradas y colgadas por todo el."

11. *Ibid.*: "un cuero de cola blanca pintado la orilla de abaxo desde cuento con borlitas como plumas blancas tres hilos por todo el redodor."

12. *Ibid.*: "una manta rica la tela della era en aquel clara y toda labrada cruzes de muchas labores de en aquel auey flos llamauase esta manta tzitzilli esta manta se ponia por la cintura atada por las espaldas al cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.*: "una medalla de mosayco, atada al cuerpo sobre los lomos."

14. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de chalchiujtl, muchas que tenia dellos unas culebritas de chalchiujtes."

15. *Tzocholcoatls* is probably meant in the Aztec column.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: una mitra de cuero de tigre, y colorgauan [sic] de la mitra, sobre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuervo, llamaua la mitra en chalchiujtl golder: y redondo, en la punta."

17. *Ibid.*: "de mosayco de turquesas."

12
2/2 [There is no known genus of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — AWA 1951]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[19] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[20] and white precious stone snuff[21] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoã hecaxonecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipoquicac.[18] 431 776 301 292

Oca inqujtlamãtli in, in motenena teutlaqujtl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in qujtqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli tuztlapilolio, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichicalo. Auh in omoteneuhque macujltin; njman ie ic qujnnaoatia in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmoenaqujlia, ca omaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico: 431 [482] 202

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acalticaqujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan oncoaj acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatocticque, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal. 505

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa anoallaque? 648

njman iuh qujnnaoquilique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçeuno, aço çan vmpa anmoclamja, aço çan anqujpiquj, aço çe toca anmocacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoaltilinjque: njman no quioalquetzque ezcozcatli.

---

18. *Ibid.*: "la qual rodela estaua hordada con plumas ricas en la haze de la rodella (sic) auia una concha de plumas ricas."

19. *Ibid.*: "un bastón labrado de manojos de turquesas y en la hondra de arriba puestas unas plumillas ricas a partes amarillentas en la cabeça de arriba."

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of quartz. However, our translators has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "unas mjjas de oro hechas a manera de caracol marinos ot unas ropajicas de plumas ricas que colgauan hasta las espaldas."

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "una capa llana."

[p. 14 is blank]

Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art not he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, qujoa ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoā oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injē quitlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl.

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmī ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tziuacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cōnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl, vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmōmacaque teucujtlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoā teucujtlacoxcatl.

Auh in oqujmōmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzca, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn cooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel ichoatl in cenca camjquj, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoomjxitivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oqujttaque Tziuacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx iec hin in Motecuçoma: Quimjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmōichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie ichoatl totecujioane. Inin tziuacpopocatzin, quimjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjtn. Ca nehoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmā qujlhujque. Nepa xiauh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaiaoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatilos, amo vel titechichchioaz, amo vel titechiacuepaz, amo vel titechixpatilia, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopolos, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechixçoqujvia, amo vel titechixçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel tezhcatlatiliz, amo vel mjtzaiaz? campa iaz? cujx totol, cujx patlanjx? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cuna ca tepetl

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

Injc caxtolli ocze capítulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca quinnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and,
35] lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
[301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocencaoa in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjquja: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõmamãque in tlaçouhchitl, in chimalxuchitl, in xollouxuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujxuchitl, in coztic iiexuchitl, in cacaoxuchitl, icpacxuchitl, in xuchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

648 431 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them; he placed chains of flowers on them

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, conochimacac, conconcati in concatl, conxuchiconcati, conxuchiapan, conjcpacxuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

---

[312] 1. *Xoloco* or *Xolaco* served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In terms past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzadas of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See resp. Alfonso Caso, in *Las barrios aztecas de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies *Xoloco* as a *barrio* bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Iturrigaray; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; ?., Lauro Alcerdo; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Schrgüa's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 10.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"En llegando los españoles a aquel río que esta sobre las casas de alberado que se llama Xoloco."*

4. *Chimalxuchitl. Chimalxuuchitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). Chimalxúchitl (ibid., p. 100), *"tiene . . . flores redondas amarillas (parece prodigio) de un palmo, amarillo rojizas con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media"*; Hernández names L. Linn.; *ground, chimalxúchitl, rodela de tejer. Chimalxuuchitl* is classified as *"compuesta?"*

5. *Yollocuechitl. Yolocuechitl* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin 241), Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia used (today Sahagún), *"was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as thexolloxochitl."*

6. *Izquixochitl. Izquixóchitl*: in Chiapas, *panocha del maiz — Bourreria formosa*; *B. huanita*; *B. laurodis* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 626). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria huanita* [La Llave and Lex] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 274 and Pl. 69 — *a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used to flavor cacao.* In Sahagún (Quarborough and Simmons ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is noted that *"Cette fleur entre sur l'arbre izquixochiquauitl, excellente boisson, de la famille des cupressinées."*

7. *Yeuxochitl. Hierba Antonio Recho* (*Bursera excelsa=en nuestra Hispaniola idiomate seu planitiorum accolarum nuncupatur historia rer. Praesert. Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographeio Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) *given elsewhere as an alternative (quam alij Elotzochitl, seu Plumen Vini, alij vero Cacaloquixochitl [cacaloquixóchitl] seu Yeuxochitl publicum, nuncupant"*), a cold climate plant (*"provenit regionibus frigidis, & montosis locis"*). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it *elotzochitl* as *Magnolia exoliosa* Zucc. Rzedowski (*op. cit.*, p. 275) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a *p. magnolia*, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacaoxuchitl. Cacahuaxóchitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 348, it is identified as *"Rosa de cacao. Mirandia funebris, Bonl. Rosa cacahuaxochitl."* Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

648 and wreaths upon their heads. Thereupon he spread
●43 out before [Cortés] the golden neck bands — all the greeting gifts with which the welcome closed. Some he hung with neck bands.

648 Then [Cortés] said to Moctezuma: "Is this not thou? Art thou not he? Art thou Moctezuma?"

Moctezuma replied: "It is so; I [am he]."

At this he arose to meet him face to face, did a great reverence to him, drew close to him, and stood firm.

Thus did he pray and speak [to Cortés]: "O our lord, thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Thou hast arrived on earth; thou hast come to thy noble city of Mexico. Thou hast come to occupy thy noble mat and seat, which for a little time I have guarded and watched for thee. For thy governors [of times past] have gone — the rulers Itzcoatl, Moctezuma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tiçoc, Auitzotl — who, not very long ago, came to guard [thy mat and seat] for thee and to govern the city of Mexico. Under their protection the common folk came here. Could they, perchance, now find their descendants, those left behind? O, that one of them might be a witness to marvel that to me now hath befallen what I see, who am the only descendant of our lords. For I dream not, nor start from my sleep, nor see this as in a trance. I do not dream that I see thee and look into thy face. Lo, I have been troubled for a long time. I have gazed into the unknown whence thou hast come — the place of mystery. For the rulers [of old] have gone, saying that thou wouldst come to instruct thy city, [that] thou wouldst descend to thy mat and seat; that thou wouldst return. And now it is fulfilled: thou hast returned; thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Arrive now in thy land. Rest, lord; visit thy palace [that] thou mayest rest thy body. Let our lords arrive in the land."[9]

And when Moctezuma had ended his address, which he had directed to the Marquis, Marina explained and interpreted for him. And when the Marquis had heard Moctezuma's words, then he spoke to Marina.[10] He addressed them in a barbarous tongue; he said in his strange language:

"May Moctezuma quiet his heart and not be frightened. We love him much. Now our hearts are

concatl, in jxqujtlamãtli tenamjconj, tenamjctli in jca oiecauh, cequj cioncatj;

Njmã qujoalilhuj in Motecuçoma. Cujx amo te? cujx amo ie te? ie te in timotecuçoma:

qujto in Motecuçoma, ca quemaca ca nehoatl:

njmã ie ic vel onmoquetza conjxnamjctimoquetza, connepechtequjlia, vel ixqujch caana, motlaquxuhquetza:

injc contlatlauhti, qujlhuj. Totecujoe oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, otlaltitech tommaxitico, oitech tommopachiviltico in Matzin, in motepetzin mexico, oipan tonmovetzitico in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin, in oachitzinca njmjtzõnopielili, in onjmjtzonnotlapielili, ca oiaque in motechiuhcaoan in tlatoque: in Jtzcoatzin, in veve Motecuçoma, in Axaiaca, in Tiçocic, in Avitzotl, in oc uel achic mjtzonmotlapielilico, in oquipachoco in atl, in tepetl in Mexico: in incujtlapan, inteputzco in ovalietia in momaceoaltzin, cujx oc vallamati in jmonjca, in inteputzco, ma ceme iehoantin qujtztiaz; qujmaviçotianj, in nehoatl in axcan nopan omochiuh in ie njqujtta, in ça jmonjca, inteputzco totecujovan camo çan njtemjquj, amo çã njcochitlcoa, amo can njccochitta, amo çan njctemjquj ca ie onjmjtzõnotili, mjxtzinco onjtlachix, ca ononnentlamatticatca in ie macuj in ie matlac, in vmpa nonjtztica, in quenamjcan in otimoquixtico in mjxtitlan in aiauhtitlan: anca iehoatl inin quiteneuhtivi in tlatol] in ticmonachitiqujuh in matzin, in motepetzin in jpã timovetzitiqujuh in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin in tioalmovicac. Auh in axcan ca oneltic, otioalmovicac, oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, ma tlaltitech ximaxiti, ma ximocevitzino, ma xocononmachiti in motecpancaltzin, ma xicmocevili in monacaietzin, ma tlaltitech maxitican in totecujovan.

Auh in oztzonqujx in jtlatlauhtiliz Motecuçoma concaqujti in Marques: njman ic concaqujtztili connacaitalhuj in Malintzin. Auh in occac in Marques in jtlatol in motecuçoma: njman ie qujoalnacatia in Malitzin qujcoalpopoloca: qujoalito in jpopolocacopa.

Ma mocõlali in Motecuçoma, macamo momauhti, ca omca tictlaçotla, ca axcan uel pachiuj in tiaoilo,

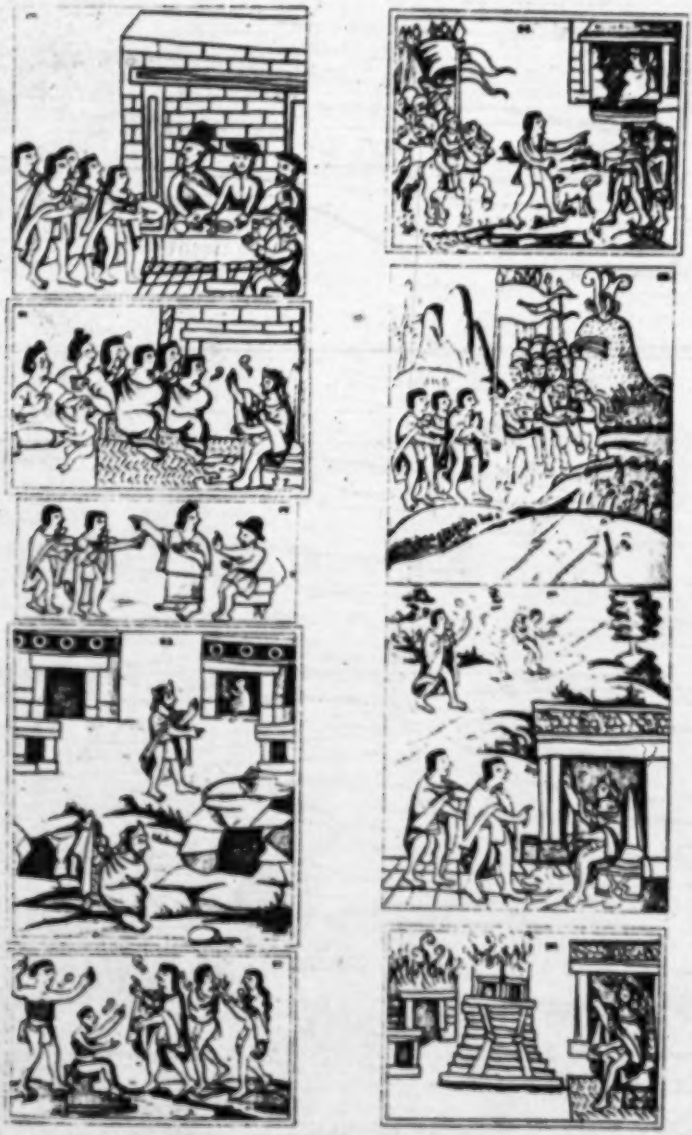
5. A number of the allusions made here to Moctezuma's ancestry are explained in Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," pp. 19-21.

10. The Aztec text should read "Malintzin."

-42-

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
648
291
● [#31]



—*Ilustraciones de la Historia de la Conquista de México*

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Iztaccipotl and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's soothsayers meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 14).

[p. 44(E)]

726 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.**

726 648 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochimilco, Mixquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itztapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

415 431 272 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them devices and shields, and they gave them each chocolate. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omei capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn chinanpaneca in Suchmjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jtztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in quinpalevisquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in iehoantin suchmjlca, cujtlaoaca mjzqujca, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, quinonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: quimjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic ixtlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenqujçaco in quauhtli ocelutl in acaltica: ca qujl axcã qujcentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzque njman ie ic qujmjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanqujmjhioviltique, oanqujmociaviltique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiciecavi:

njman ie ic qujntlauhtia, quinmaca in tlavizili, in chimalli, yoan quincacacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in quinmacaque cacaoatl: njmã ie ic quimjlhuja. tlacucleoatl, tla tlaiciecavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in quinvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in jzqujcan vtlica: njman ie ic necalioa.

Auh in iehoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmã ie ic tenamoia, quinnamaque in cioatzitzinti, yoan in pipiltzitzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'nmjctique vncan ihiotl quja. Auh in oc cequjntin amo quinmjctique, çan ivian acalco quimontemovique.

Auh in ie iuh quichioa inin ie tenaoalpoloa: njman ic tzatzique in tequjvaque, qujtoque. Mexicae tlein ic quichioa in, tlavelíloque? ma vallatotoca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, quinmca acaltica.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).
[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

and fifty pesos and they said:—"Malinche, accept these presents which we give you and look on us in the future as your friends." Cortés received them with great good will and promised to help them in whatever they needed, and when he saw them together he told the Padre de la Merced to counsel them regarding matters touching our holy faith, and that they should give up their Idols, and he told them all that we were accustomed to say in all the towns through which we had passed, and to all this they replied that it was well said and that they would see to it in the future. Cortés also explained to them about the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and how we had come to right wrongs and to stop robbery, for it was for this purpose that our Emperor sent us to these countries.

When they heard this, all these towns that I have named, secretly, so that the Mexican Ambassadors should not hear them, made great complaints about Montezuma and his tax gatherers, who robbed them of all they possessed, and violated their wives and daughters, if they were handsome, before them and their husbands, and carried them off, and made the men work as though they were slaves, and made them carry pine timber and stone and firewood and maize either in their canoes or over land, and many other services such as planting cornfields, and they took their lands for the service of the Idols. They made many other complaints, which, as it was many years ago, I do not remember.

Cortés comforted them with kindly words which he knew well how to say to them through Doña Marina, but added that at the present moment, he could not undertake to see justice done them and they must bear it awhile [and] he would [presently] free them from that rule, and he secretly ordered two of their chiefs to go with four of our Tlaxcalan allies, and inspect the cleared road, which the people of Huexotzingo had told us not to follow, and to

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponaxcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quatreçoqujcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã qujcenqujxtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxqujch imâceollatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, qujtlâtlattitia, in catle coneleujz, ipan onmjtoriz, ipan ontetlattitiz:

527 And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
643 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the commanding generals, the generals, those who struck,
● 431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujcecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in teviitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

643 And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums —the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mâceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatztzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipstzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtoianj, motlaqujtoianj, tlamoiauhquj, tocacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech sçia, in mjtoa:

262 Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
—tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtetli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamalxetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotextli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiaxtlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaolo.

527 And when they had tired and were wearied of dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilluj mâceoalixtli, njman qujcalaqujxaia, qujtlatiaia, in vme xuchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamâtli, ic qujxiptlaiotiaia,

9. Cf. ibid., X, 29, 94-95; power fetishes was a term generally rendered and by nenime.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads auh inic ihiaia mapipistzoan. . . . See also, Olmos, op. cit., p. 237 (mendose).

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw coarse incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a 643 celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6] on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities 431 came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

[482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan macoaltzintli, in motolinja, çan copalxalli in tleco quitema: auh in ça iequene quitzacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in ſavia, in auellamati: çan ie in jauhtli tleco quitepeoa, ic quitlamaca in jxcoian itleuh:

ioan mjtoa in tlatoque vncan motecutlaliaia motlatucatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujntli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhxcatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj omotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol qujoalcuj, qujoalitquj in macuextli, in tilmatli, in xuchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamaujaço, yximachoca imaltepeuh, in campa, in quexqujchca oaleoa, quitlamamaca, quitlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan quitlapaloa, quitlatlauhtia, oalmotlalia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, quitlacuepilia, quintlanauquililia:

auh çan no iuj in chioalo, in namjco, çan ic mocuepa in jnnetlaçotlaliz, injc motlaneuj, injc mjximati, injc momalcochoa, injc mocoachioa, quimomamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan quiquimjlhuhtiuh, çan quiquimjlietiuh, çan quimjltica in quimomaca, in, in quimotlauhtia, quijsiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel intonal icalitic ochioaloc, otlatlan, iquac inpan quinpepena, inpan quimuelitta, quintlatlattilia, quimjipantia, quinpapantia, quinpapanjtia, in quenamj quinmacacque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua quinmaujztilia, quinvecapano, intetlaujcalhoan.

tlaliuj, tlatlaliuj, tlatlalhujtiuj, tlatlalioca, in tlamamalo, in tlatlatquioa, quaquailpitiuh in netlauhtilli: auh in netlacaujlli, ſitle tlaçotli, ſitlatlaçotli, tla-

5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los pobres ofrecian sus cruciones, que llaman copalxalli, en su mismo braser: y los muy pobres, ofrecian sus yerua molidas, que se llaman yauhtli en sus mismos braseros."* — In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, it is *Tlapoan huiuhi*; see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Remesal, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Raffour, in *La médecine chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 93, identifies yauhtli as a species of absinthe; A. Garcia, in *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1909), p. 54, says it is definitely tarragon. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar los idolatrias de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrias, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerias y otras costumbres gentilicas de las razas aborigenes de Mexico* (Mexico: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 240, identifies yauhtli as yerbanis, which, according to Santamaria, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is *"Nombre vulgar que en el norte del pais, en Mexico, se da a una planta parecida al estramonio"* (Tagetes minuta), *cuyas hojas hacian a anis."*

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: *"la fiesta de su elevación, que llamaue motlatocaiotia."*

went loaded upon their shoulders tied in bundles. Their cold things the lords caused to be carried away to where they came to be kept; and some of it was only entrusted to others.[7]

cujtlaputzmamalo, cujcujtlalpitiuh in jntlaçeujl, quj- 43|
mjtqujlia tlatoque, in omopieco, ioan in cequjn çan otenepieltico.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "y quando hazia la fiesta este señor electo: daua muchas mantas, y mantas ricas a los mantas señores: que auian seruido: de manera que mas cargados yuan, de lo que recibian del: que no auian seruido, de lo que le auian traydo. Las mantas que daua el señor: eran todas preciosas: hechas en su casa: y texidas, o labradas de diuersas maneras: conforme a las personas, a quien se auian de dar: tambien les daua muchas almadenillas de cotaches, y yuan cargados de las señor: para su casa.

89

[p. 90 is blank]

574 **Thirty-seventh Chapter**, in which is mentioned how the festivity was performed; and how the rulers and merchants of old provided banquets, even as to this day they have been doing.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omvme capitulo: vncan moteneoa in cujcujcaliztli catca in quenjn muchioaia, yoā in juh tecoanotzaia in veveintin tlatoque, yoan in pochtēca, yn juh noma axcan quichioaia.

574 And the manner of doing nowadays: when one holdeth a banquet for the sake of his child, so it is
851 said, they baptize; the head is washed; food is given. So was it done; just so were guests procured and invited; [as] in other banquets were the distribution and the seating according to rank.

Auh in axcā ie ic tlamanj yn iquac aca ypampa tecoanotza ypiltzin, ie mitoa tlaquàatequia, tlaquatequiloia tetlatlaqualtilo, çan ie muchioaia, çan ie iuh coatioaia, çāñ ie iuh tecoanotzaloia yn oc cequj ypan cooaiotl, tetlacamachiliztli, tetemoliztli.

574 So here a little is divulged of the invitation to banquet. But among the rulers, the princes and noblemen, those of illustrious lineage, or when somewhere riches and wealth had been procured, then there was avarice, among the merchants of Pochtlan, [or among the artisans, the craftsmen,][1] the skilled workers, by each group separately there was bringing of goods according to custom; guests were procured, wealth was procured, and there were invitations.

Jc çan njcan tepiton onmonextia in tecoanotzalizтlatolli, tel in tlatoca, im pilpā, im pillovā, tecpilpan, yn anoço cana netlacamachoian, necuiltonoloia, tlatlamepā, im puchtla, in puchtecapā, toltecaiopan, cecentetl injc netqùioaia, ynjc tlamanja, ynjc tlamanca, ynjc cooatioaia, netlacamachoia, necoachioaloia,

When somewhere there was great congregating, there was indeed trampling, shoving, and crowding. Entry was impossible. There was no recognition of the invited guests. Indeed, there was trampling, crowding, jostling, and shoving to one side. Nowhere were available seating places, spaces to occupy, or seats to use.[2]

in cana vel moveychina, vel mòocça, tzitzica, cācatzca, aonneaquilo, ahmiximati, yn tlacoanotzali, vel nequequeçalo, nepopotzolo, nezozocolo, ahujc zoquioca, ācan veli, in netlaliloia, in ieloaia, in tetlaliloia,

However, it was the task, concern, and charge especially of the attendants, those who greeted [the guests] — their great concern — to search and watch well. [The host] commissioned them each as servants, officials, and servitors, so that they could look with care to recognize one, no matter from where the banquet guests, those bidden to the feast, the invited ones, had come.

oc cenca iehoan intequjuh, innecuitlavil, ymix intequjuh, vel innecuitlavil, vel mixpetztza, mixpetzoa, quimilcaniantia, quintetequippantia, quincôcocoltia in techixque, in tetlalique, ynjc iehoan vellachia, teiximati, in cāpa iẽ ocallaque coame, tlacoanotzalti, tecoaoa,

574 These ascertained well what could be done for them, so that they might be well received, and that,
431 in the distribution of goods, none might be forgotten. All which they came by and received as gifts,

iehoan vel quiteilhuja, ynic inca nechioaloz, ynjc vel namicozque, aiac ilcaoaloz, ypan tlacotoniz, much intech aciz, yn nemactiz, yn jxquich ic otlatequililoque, in chiclilo, ynjn ca oytoloc, yiemacon-

1. In the *Real Palacio MS*, the words ançyo tlachichiuhcapan, teltecapan, follow pochtecapā.
2. In *Ibid.*, ad follows notlallhuia.

571 all the things which had been set aside and placed apart [by the host]—this hath been told. They
● 431 would be given tobacco; they would be plied with and provided tobacco; they would be plied with and given flowers. They would be feasted; they would be given to drink. They would be plied with gifts—capes, clothing, vestments, mantles, and breech clouts. And after they had rejoiced for a little while, they would be provided with dancing, and they would set out in the sun for them the flowers, the tobacco, the capes, and the breech clouts, in order to meet the obligations of banqueting, lest it be said [of the host] that the guests were slighted and found discontent there.

574 And where, in this manner, there was considerable congregating, one augmented, increased, and multiplied the flowers and edible things. It was as if his nourishing goods rested everywhere, covered and spread over the ground, spread all about; as if the food brought there spread souring; all the tamales became mouldy. Musty were the tamales which had been set out.

571 But there at the flower places, where the flowers were placed and arranged, the pleasing odor and
554 fragrance spread to all parts. No one wished to be deflated or to lose stature. All persons wished[3] that they be given recognition, fame, and distinction; that they might not, on the contrary, be shamed, receive blame, be embarrassed, confused, belittled, confounded, or excluded from others. Each and everyone paid attention to, took great care with, [and] gloried in his invitations to others. Each and everyone therefore made him resplendent and admirable, each one separately proceeding with exclusive and undivided attention to feasting. They exalted and raised themselves; they surpassed and much exceeded themselves. There was vying and competition.

On the other hand, one might not wish to do it, preferring not to enter into it, and not desiring it, lest his favors should fall away or fail. And if it was not brought about, everyone wondered, was chagrined, and made much of it. This same one, when he learned of it, became troubled and continued in fear[4] that possibly his efforts would fail, pass away, or miscarry. O that none might ever speak to him of

que, miietiznque, yiztiloznque, mouochimacaznque, mouochitiznque, xochimacoznque, tlaquaznque, atlixque, motlanhtiznque, motilmatiznque, moquentiaq, motlaquentiznque, motlalpiliaq, momaxtlatiznque: auh çatepã ymellel onquiçaz achitzinca, ẽmitotiznque, ontlatotoniznque, yn xochitl, yn jietl, in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, injc conjxtlaca, cooniotl, ontlaiolpachivitia, injc amo itoloznque, ca çã moiolitlacoa, ahtlavelmati.

Auh in cana tel çan ie no yui, vel moveichioa, tonacatica miequia, tlapivia, ĩ xuchitl, in qualonj, iuhquin papachivi, tlalpan aci, tlalpan actimoteca, tlalpan acitimoteca, yn jcococauh ipalnemoanj, iuhquin thzoxococoiaxtoc, yn vmpa oalquiça tlaqualli, ixquich pupuzcavi in tamalli, tamalpupuzcauhqui, yn temaco,

auh in vmpa yonoia, itecõia, ivipanaloian xuchitl, iuhquin tlavevelixtimanj, tlaavjaxtimanj, aiac mopatzaoallanj, aiac patzactzintli ieznequi, mochi tlacatl iuh conequi, in ma ça vel onixpatlaca, onteioca, onitzuhcaioa, in maca tle ic ẽmopinauhti, ompinavizcui, ompinaviztlamati, ommomamati, ontzinquiça, ommixtilquetia, ic tevicpa ontzicolo, mochi tlacatl cecentetl ic quimati, quitlamachia, quivelia, yn itecoanotzaliz, mochi tlacatl cecẽtetl ic quicuepoma, ic tetlamaviçoltia, nonõqua mitzuhtiuh, mitzuhcaizuh in coniotl, macoctiuh, macoquetztiuh, mopanavitiuh, mopapanavitiuh, nepanavilhoca, nepapanavilo,

noçac yn iconnequj, acõquinequi, aquin maca quinequi, yn ma vel oevetzi, onquiça itlaocul, auh yn aiamo muchioa mochi tlacatl, motẽmati, tlatẽmati, tlaveymati, çan iẽ in quimati, ic motequipachoa, q'nmattinemi, in quẽmach nenti onquiçaz, contlalcaviz ynetequipachol, macaiac tle ic conitotiaz, conixaoatiaz, conjxmotlatiaz, onahioc, onteputzcomonilo.

3. In ibid., ỹ mo pa mel ommati pewaya followers ipak mitoaqueh.
4. Quinmattilcavi in ibid.